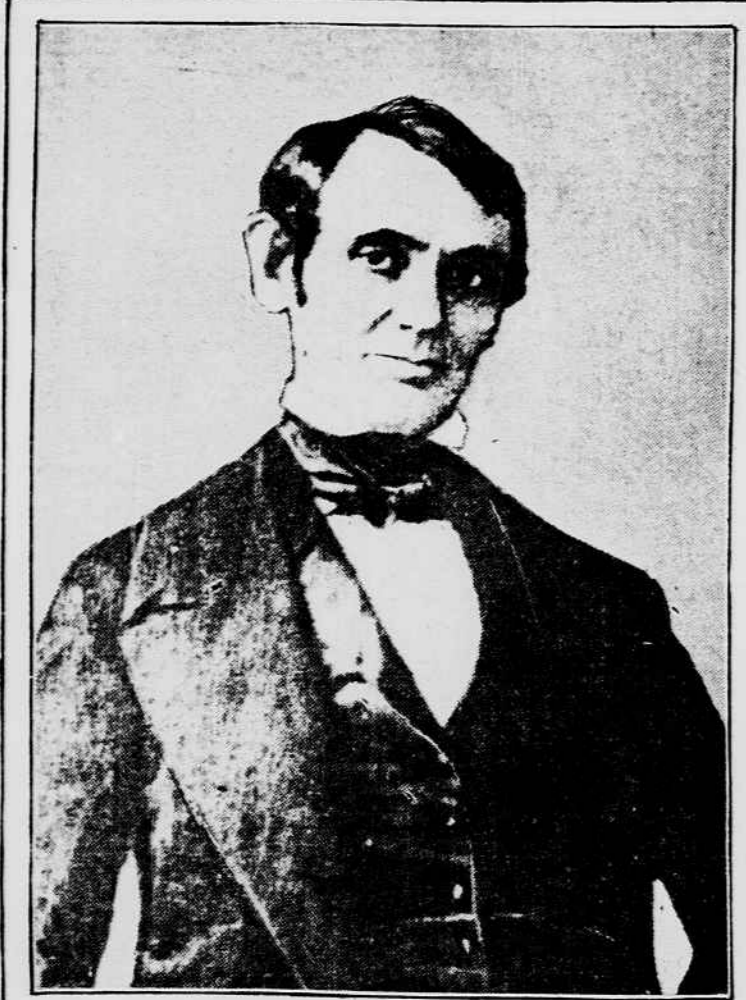


Abraham Lincoln's Foreign Policy and Its Logic

Peace With Other Countries Vital Because of the War to Save the Union—How This Policy Was Maintained—Rejection of Seward's Foreign War Program—Monroe Doctrine in Abeyance—Settling the Trent Affair With England—"Frankness, Justice and Mutual Good Will"—Lincoln's Characteristic Resolution for Union Sympathizers in Great Britain—How Mexican Affairs Were Intermingled With Lincoln's Public Life—Foreign Estimates. Punch's Expiatory Tribute to the Martyred President.



DAUERRETYPE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN WHEN, AS A MEMBER OF CONGRESS, HE OPPOSED THE WAR WITH MEXICO—1847.

BY CHARLES M. PEPPER.

Lincoln for four years was a colossal figure in foreign affairs, as he was the commanding figure in domestic events. He had a foreign policy. It was for peace with all the world. One war at a time was his guiding motive, and the war to save the Union meant that there could be no foreign war. That complications with other countries should grow out of the civil war was inevitable. That relations with foreign powers should reach the verge of actual hostilities was almost inevitable; but Lincoln from the beginning of his administration was determined to keep peace. His policy was a consistent one and was maintained logically and unswervingly. When Lincoln entered on his first term the civil war cloud was casting

by the natural course of politics became Secretary of State, but not premier of the administration. One of the most curious documents in American political history is the "program" submitted by Secretary Seward to Lincoln a month after the administration assumed responsibility for the affairs of a disuniting nation. It was entitled "Some Thoughts for the President's Consideration."

After outlining the policy for domestic affairs, under the heading "For Foreign Nations," with others, Secretary Seward made these two suggestions:

"I would demand explanations from Spain and France categorically at once. And if satisfactory explanations are not received from Spain and France would convene Congress and declare war against them."

The rejection of Seward's "program" in its entirety by President Lincoln avoided the necessity of specifically rejecting the suggestion of hostilities with European countries. But Lincoln's cast of mind was not such that he could look upon a foreign war as a justifiable means of insuring domestic peace, even if it were practicable.

The sea of foreign complications in which the Lincoln administration was involved during the first year of the civil war became mountains in the Trent affair. Few people today who are not students of international law recall the exact circumstances. They therefore may bear brief recital.

The British mail steamer Trent, November 7, 1861, left Havana for St. Thomas with the Confederate commissioners, Mason and Slidell, and their secretaries. The following day the United States frigate San Jacinto, under command of Capt. Wilkes, the Confederate commissioners and their secretaries were removed from the Trent, which was then allowed to proceed.

Commissioners and their secretaries were taken to Fort Warren. Public sentiment in the north at first pretty unanimously approved the action of Capt. Wilkes, and public sentiment in Great Britain was almost as unanimously favorable. After a little time for consideration responsible leaders in the north saw that even if the United States had not reversed its historic opposition to the abuse of the right of search a serious mistake had been committed in the seizure of Mason and Slidell.

Friends of the Union in Great Britain, led by Bright and Cobden, sought to counteract the efforts of the aristocracy to force England into war with the United States. The British government, with Earl Russell at its head, was not remarkable for friendliness to the north, but it was not especially anxious for war.

The way for a peaceful settlement was opened by Secretary Seward in a letter dated November 26 to Minister Adams at London, in which the American minister was instructed to inform the British government that the capture was without instructions from Washington, and that the government at Washington was ready to discuss the subject. This was the diplomatic way of saying that the matter could be arranged.

The same day that Secretary Seward dated his letter to Minister Adams, Earl Russell transmitted instructions to Lord Lyons, the British minister in Washington. The substance was that England demanded the liberation of the commissioners and their secretaries, and an apology. A later instruction to Lord Lyons was to wait seven days for a reply, and then if no reply was received, or if it was unsatisfactory, to close the legation archives and withdraw from London.

These instructions were not literally carried out, because private interchange of views, which is the real strength of diplomacy, enabled the solution of the difficulty to be had. Lord Lyons, who was a bachelor, was a favorite with President Lincoln, who sometimes joked him, and he was also on good terms with Secretary Seward. The period of waiting, however, was a most anxious one.

The crisis came at a cabinet meeting, which was held on Christmas day. Senator Sumner was present, by invitation, and read letters he had received from Cobden and Bright urging that the United States make reparation and conciliate British friendship.

One of Cobden's letters to Sumner quite likely was not read by him. The cabinet, Cobden was unable to do Seward full justice. In one of his letters to Sumner he said:

"There is an impression, I know, in high quarters here that Mr. Seward wishes to quarrel with this country. This seems absurd enough. I confess I write as the result of a hasty conversation in Lord Palmerston. Both will consult him for the moment without much regard. I fear, for future."

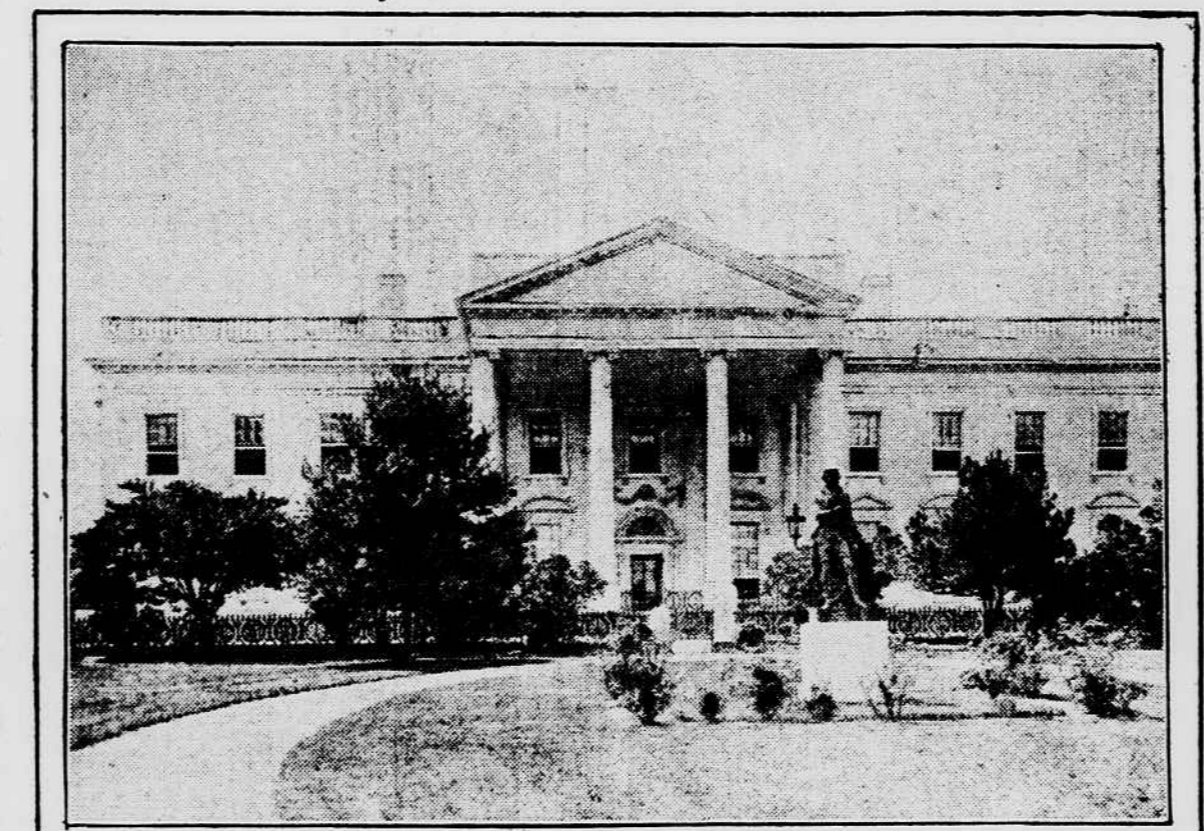
Seward, however, did not defer to

bunkum in the Trent incident. It is claimed for him by some of his biographers that it was he who persuaded President Lincoln into conservative channels and to resist popular clamor. Point is made of Lincoln's saying that Seward should go ahead and argue for giving up the commissioners, while he himself would argue that they should not be given up. But Lincoln's plan of arguing out a question and getting both sides in review was habitual with him.

Not to have given up the commissioners was felt at the time to mean war with England, and Lincoln's policy in the Trent affair, as in other affairs, was to avoid more than one war at a time.

The Christmas day cabinet meeting decided that Mason and Slidell should be given up, which was done, and Secretary Seward was left to make the argument. International lawyers have since made mincemeat of his contention that the commissioners were contraband of war, and that their seizure and removal were justifiable, but that Capt. Wilkes departed from international law in his manner of arresting them.

Biographers and autobiographers have also engaged in controversy as to the extent to which Lincoln pruned Seward's dispatches in the representations made to the British government against fitting out Confederate armaments.



THE WHITE HOUSE AS LINCOLN FIRST KNEW IT, WITH THE STATUE OF THOMAS JEFFERSON IN FRONT. THE STATUE IS NOW IN THE ROTUNDA OF THE CAPITOL.

ment in Great Britain, but through it all there is no questioning of Lincoln's determination to avoid foreign war.

Lincoln's annual messages to Congress do not go deeply into foreign affairs, because the diplomatic correspondence covering the representations to England and France regarding the recognition of the belligerency of the Confederates, and the remonstrances to England against Confederate armaments, were submitted with the messages. The situation, however, usually is summarized by a luminous expression of the President's views and policy.

In the annual message of December, 1862, President Lincoln said:

"We have left to every nation the exclusive conduct and management of its own affairs. Our struggle, of course, has been contemplated by foreign nations with reference less to its own merits than to its support, and often exaggerated, effects and consequences resulting to those nations themselves."

A year later President Lincoln in his message to Congress made this declaration:

"We remain in peace and friendship with foreign powers. . . . Questions of great intricacy and importance have arisen out of the blockade and other intelligent operations, between the government and several of the maritime powers, but they have been discussed and, as far as was possible, accommodated in a spirit of frankness, justice and mutual good will."

President Lincoln's whole foreign policy might be summed up in those words—"a spirit of frankness, justice and mutual good will."

Lincoln did not consider it beyond his position, as president, to meddle in the affairs of foreign countries, to aid in

shaping sentiment for the Union. George Macaulay Trevelyan, one of the biographers of John Bright, has uncovered the draft of the letter, or resolution, which Lincoln, in April, 1862, transmitted to Bright to be adopted at public meetings held in favor of the north. The resolution is characteristic. It reads:

"Whereas while freedom states and nations have tolerated slavery, thereby, by the aid of a million upon the basis of, and with the primary and fundamental object to maintain, enlarge and perpetuate human slavery; therefore,Resolved, That no such nation should ever be recognized by, or admitted into, the family of civilized and Christian nations; and that all Christian and civilized men everywhere should be all latent means, resort to the utmost such recognition or admission."

Mexican affairs were curiously intermingled with Lincoln's public life. As a member of Congress he was a merciless critic of President Polk's declaration of war against Mexico.

As President, in order that the United States might not have more than one war at a time on its hands, he was compelled to tolerate the effort of a European power to set up monarchy on Mexican soil, but through all this was the firm friend of the Mexican people.

Lincoln's opposition to the war for the acquisition of Mexico was manifested in the Thirtieth Congress. One of the many resolutions introduced during that Congress in the Lincoln resolution. It was a closely reasoned and effective attack on the Polk administration.

said that Lincoln never shirked meeting this charge when it was made by Douglas. In Lincoln's political career there was nothing to show that his opposition to the Mexican war ever hurt him, although there were many veterans of that war in Illinois.

When he became President Lincoln was more concerned with Napoleon's efforts to secure the recognition of the Confederates as an independent nation than with the attitude of the European countries toward Mexico. But later, when the French invasion actually took place, and the attempt was made to set up a throne for Maximilian, the situation added to the perplexities of his administration.

Secretary Seward's letters defining the position of the administration and the whole chapter of diplomatic correspondence on the subject bear evidence of Lincoln's power of self-restraint. The announced policy was one of complete neutrality as between the French and the Mexicans.

Henry J. Raymond, the great journalist, who wrote a biography of Lincoln in 1864, and who therefore may be said to form the cotemporaneous view, in explaining the Mexican policy said it had in some respects contravened the traditional purposes and principles of the government and people of the United States, but it was

one of the most notable tributes was that by Punch, which during four years had vied with the Times and the Morning Post, the organs of the British aristocracy, in malignant misrepresentation of Lincoln.

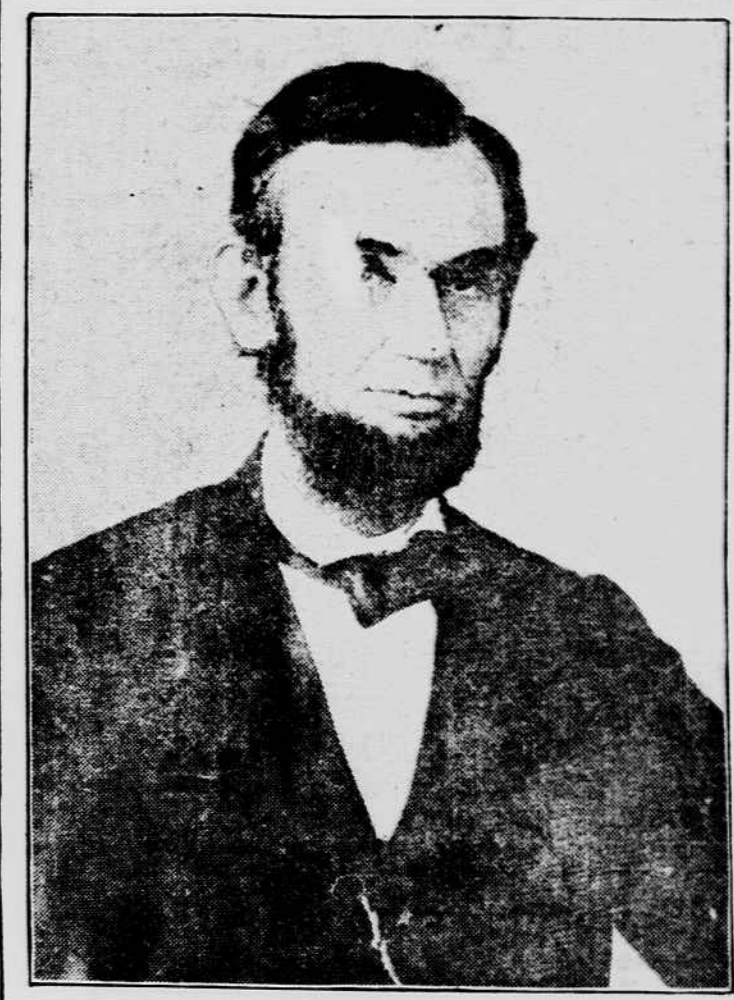
It is a peculiar circumstance that the tribute was from the pen of Tom Taylor, the dramatic author, whose "Our American Cousin" President Lincoln was witnessing at Ford's Theater when he was assassinated. Here are some of the verses from Punch's tribute:

Between the mortars at his head and feet,
Saw, scowling frowns, in their mean front
He went about his work, each work as fell,
Ever laid on head and heart and hand,
As one who knows where there's a task to do,
Man's lot, will must, heaven's will, and good grace command.

Who trusts the strength will with the burden
grow,
That God makes instruments to work His will,
If but that will we can arrive to know,
Not tamper with the weights of good and ill.

So he grew up, a destined work to do,
And lived, and died, suffering years,
Ill fate, ill feeling, ill report, lived through,
And then he heard the blossoms changed to thorns.

Beside this corpse, that bears for winding sheet
The Stars and Stripes he lived to rear anew.



PRESIDENT LINCOLN DURING HIS FIRST YEAR IN THE WHITE HOUSE. WHEN THE FOREIGN POLICY WAS DETERMINED BY THE NEED OF AVOIDING MORE THAN ONE WAR AT A TIME.

foreign entanglements in settling that issue. Appreciation came after his death.

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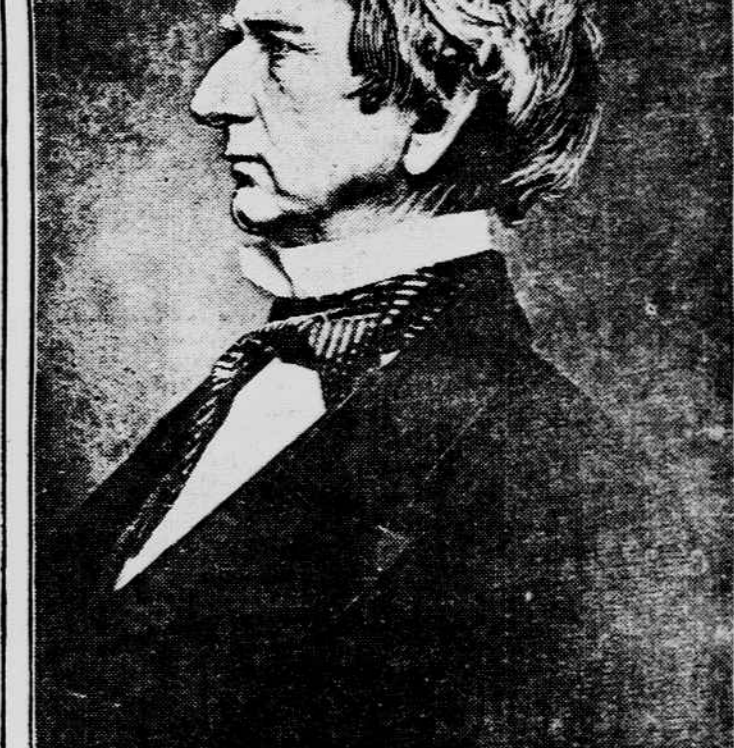
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WILLIAM H. SEWARD, WHO, AS SECRETARY OF STATE UNDER LINCOLN, FRAMED DIPLOMATIC DISPATCHES OF GREAT MOMENT.



LORD LYONS, BRITISH MINISTER IN WASHINGTON, WHO HELPED SETTLE THE TRENT TROUBLE.

AMERICAN TOURISTS LOST AUTOS THROUGH WAR REQUISITION

Special Correspondence of The Star.

LAUSANNE, Switzerland,

January 27, 1915.

WHEN the war broke out, suddenly, last August, thousands of American tourists and health-seekers fled from the belligerent countries, leaving behind them trunks and luggage containing clothing, jewelry, etc., purchased objects in cases, and other articles of value running into several millions of dollars.

In France, where our embassy has forty men and the express companies' agents operate freely, practically everything has been recovered. The same may be said of Switzerland, and, in a less degree, of Austria.

In Lausanne, the last truckload of trunks went yesterday. I saw it from the beginning. During the weeks in August, when thousands of well-to-do Americans, the majority women, besieged the express company's office, local shippers, travel agents, and even tobacconists, pasted signs on their windows offering to store and ship on later order or when conditions, etc., became favorable. Thanks to their individual honesty and the lack of disorder in the little peaceful land of Switzerland, it has been done.

In Germany, where the abandoned stuff probably passed the million and a half, flight was precipitous, conditions rigorous, the Germans themselves in a whirl, and our Americans trusted their impedimenta to whom they could—hotels, boarding houses, volunteers, etc. A fraction has been recovered, through the agency of German-Americans, and the Berlin police are hunting for the rest.

What escapes such doubtfulness, in all the countries, is the particular and striking category of trunks, automobiles, not abandoned, stored or entrusted, but "requisitioned" or held at the disposal of the European army. Quantities of Americans—more than built cars to Europe for touring, and



REQUISITIONING AUTOMOBILES OF AMERICAN OWNERS IN EUROPE JUST BEFORE THE WAR.

From the Leipzig Illustrirte Zeitung.

literally, hundreds, starting on pleasure tours in such, or in new-bought automobiles, and besides, there were taken from previous years, were stopped short by the war. In France, it depended on their direction. Those moving south were not even stopped, and none was seized. France was rich in automobiles, and besides, there seems to have been a prejudice. In Switzerland, for a moment, the army direction lost its head. They requisitioned the German dirigibles and aeroplanes at the Bernese exhibition, and besides, they took the French and English aeroplanes, and to automobiles, they were better-seekers, devil-take-the-

hindmost. I was personally instrumental in getting a member of the Dewey family of New York into the "free zone" of France.

With a brand-new 1914 twenty-four horsepower auto, where it was safe. Two days later that lovely Swiss road had a Swiss squad at the frontier. In figures have yet been given out, but I gather Dexter, our consular agent, in charge at Vevey, who so ably succurs his fellow-citizens of Lausanne, Ouchy, Morcles, etc., since the departure of E. E. Frazer, assures me that he has secured, already, the return of every such car requisitioned from Americans in the district.

I will not (and I think Dexter could not) guarantee the condition in which our owners found their machines, or the satisfactoriness of the sums allowed by the Swiss military authorities for rent, repairs and sinking fund.

A brand-new touring car that hauls a thousand, oil stoves, and muddy tent poles over military mountain roads, in rain and slush, may soon get like the girl in the song: "Oh, Flo, she's not the same, you know."

A patriotic Swiss owner, who has not got his machine back, tells me that the maximum compensation is calculated at \$2 per day for a new \$250 car. In Germany, where literally hundreds of Americans' automobiles are requisitioned, military use or on the scrap heap—compensation will be entered into after the war, except where German friends may obtain a release or exceptional treatment.

At the memorable consular days of the Hotel Gibbon, in Lausanne, last August, indignation was freely expressed for members of the Dreer family of Philadelphia. Mrs. Dreer mere, with a party of women guests, in two automobiles, was stopped somewhere before the Swiss frontier on Lake Constance. As in the Scripture one was taken and the other was left. I refer to the autos. How they crowded into the remaining one, you can imagine, but the Germans had lightened it of its cushions, rugs, oil skins, tools, detached clock, terms, hand luggage, portable clock, smelling salts, etc., with an iron hand, not in a velvet glove. The Philadelphia woman protested. I will not tell you the reply that she received. This

was told openly at the consular afternoons, when Agent Fletcher granted some 540 emergency passports to the dispossessed of Harvard was present at the conversation.

The typical case is that of the Misses Lowry of San Francisco, Scotland, from Marienbad in their own car, in company with the de la Balze family of New York. Mrs. de la Balze, who is past seventy years of age, had her daughter and a girl friend in their new auto.

"We had arrived at Strasbourg from Stuttgart July 31," says Miss de la Balze. "At the hotel, where we got our mail and luncheon, they let us go off about 2 p.m., without a word. Toward the French frontier, however, we met a French couple returning in their auto. 'No use to continue,' they said, 'no automobile can get through. We are going to the railway station to which. 'But we are Americans' we said. 'No matter,' they replied, 'you'll see.' So we turned back, also, and found New York society girl. 'We got as far as Colmar, where German soldiers stopped us, and they let us return to Strasbourg and get papers from the governor. They searched us at the Rhine bridge and made us walk across with soldiers on each side. They let us mount again to reach the gates of Strasbourg, where we found a lot of other automobile parties—many Americans."

not easy to see what other could have been adopted without inviting hazards which no responsible statesmen had a right to incur. The odds, of course, were the danger of foreign war while Lincoln was engaged in a war for the preservation of the Union.

Raymond further said that holding aloof was the only policy compatible with the preservation of the Union and the final establishment of the Monroe doctrine.

Lincoln, notwithstanding his peace policy, thought some formal action necessary to show that Congress was cognizant of the situation.

In April, 1864, the House passed a resolution reciting that the United States was unwilling by its silence to leave the nations of the world under the impression that it was indifferent to the deplorable events transpiring in Mexico. It therefore declared that it would not be in accord with the sentiment of the people of the United States to acknowledge a monarchical government erected on the ruins of any republican government in America under the auspices of any European power.

The passage of this resolution by the House was sufficient at the time, and it was not pressed in the Senate. It undoubtedly reflected Lincoln's views in regard to Mexico.

Foreign estimates of Lincoln during his lifetime took little heed of his foreign policy. It was based on the titanic domestic issue and showed little comprehension of his wisdom in avoiding

we learned that there was no American consul, nor ever was, it not being permitted in Strasbourg."

In despair, they went to the automobile garage.

"A man at the garage gave us receipts for the cars—just papers saying that he had them. It was understood that they were wanted for the army, yet the date was July 31, before the war, which is the thing that makes me so mad."

The next morning the hotel proprietor told them that they were supposed to be out of Germany by 5 p.m. "Do not try to go by Switzerland," he said, "it is too crowded." For some reason or other, they were put into a train for Cologne, registering their six de la Balze trunks with them. On arriving the trunks could not be found. "If war is not declared you may get them in a month," an employee informed them, but if there is war you may never get them."

Arriving late in the evening at Cologne, they hurriedly took another train for the frontier, near to which, at 1 a.m., they had to get out and walk.

"We arrived in Paris late the next day," says the American girl, and have never heard a word of our trunks or automobiles since. They also applied to the American consul at Cologne and Keln for Strasbourg, but has not yet received an answer.

"Quantities of Americans are in the same case," she says. "The Postoffice of New York were obliged to leave nine trunks and two automobiles in Berlin. Another American, on the train with us, had just bought a new auto and hated to lose it. He said he was going to Frankfurt, to see the American consul, but I do not believe he got there."

STERLING HEILIG.

To Keep Ivory White.

IVORY toilet sets are now so fashionable that it may be well to know how to keep them clean and from turning yellow. They should be wiped with alcohol instead of water to retain their natural color. This also applies to piano keys. Water should not be used on them.

Nicknames of States.

NEARLY every one of the states of the Union has a nickname suggestive of its character, physical character or historic association, and some of the states have a dual nickname of two or more nicknames, which in most cases appear to be equally popular and about evenly employed in current use.

California is called both "Golden State" and "El Dorado." Connecticut is the "Nutmeg State," the "Greenwich State," and also the "Land of Steady Habits." Delaware is the "Blue Hen State" and also the "Diamond State." and Georgia is the "Cracker State," and also the "Empire State of the South."

The sons of Illinois speak of it both as the "Sucker State" and the "Prairie State." Kansas answers to the name of "Sunflower State," "Central State," and "Jayhawk State." Kentucky is known as the "Blue Grass State," the "Dark and Bloody Ground," while Louisiana is the "Pelican State" and the "Crescent State."

Minnesota affectionately or familiarly calls itself the "Land of 10,000 Lakes," the "Broad and Butter State," and the "New England of the West." Michigan is the "Wolverine State" and the "Lake State." Nebraska is the "Silver State" and the "Sage Hen State," and New York is the "Empire State" and the "Excelsior State."

If a man speaks of the "Old North State" or the "Turpentine State" or the "Tarheel State," he means North Carolina. The "Old Line State" and it is sometimes called the "Oyster State" and the "Web Foot State." South Dakota is the "Spearhead State" and the "Black Hills State." "Washington is the "Chinook State" and the "Evergreen State" and Virginia is the "Old Dominion" and the "Mother of States" and the "Mother of Presidents."

The general nickname of Maryland is the "Old Line State" and it is sometimes called the "Oyster State" and the "Terra Pin State." Maine is either the "Pine Tree State" or the "Lumber State."

Using geographical features as nicknames are Florida, the "Peninsula State"; Massachusetts, the "Bay State"; Mississippi, the "Bayou State"; Tennessee, the "Big Bend State"; Vermont, the "Green Mountain State" and West Virginia, "The Panhandle." Animals give their names to Alaska, the "Bear State"; North Dakota, the "Flickertail State"; and Wisconsin, the "Badger State."